1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

the seepings which run down the cliffs and percolate through the sand towards the sea.

It is the duty of the women, particularly the younger women and girls, to bring in the water in the morning and again about sunset (Pl. 36*b*). It is carried in coco-nut shells cleaned out for the purpose through one of the eyes. The outside of such shells is often polished by continual rubbing, and may be ornamented with seeds or shells stuck in with the 'putty nut'. They are always carefully rinsed before being filled. The hole is plugged with a stopper (*pipip*) made of a smooth leaf (of the plant called *gartan*) by folding it in an ingenious manner round the finger and tucking the ends in. These water-containers (Pl. 36*a*) are called *ruin*; the same word is used for fresh water generally and also means a stream. They are never used for sea-water, which is usually transported in lengths of bamboo (Pl. 37*a*). I have known men from the mountains walk many miles to the sea in order to fill as many of these bamboos as they could carry back with them, this being their only means of obtaining salt.

Ten or a dozen water coco-nuts will carry home the family's supply for the day. Not much of it is expended on personal cleanliness, but I have sometimes seen babies being washed by having the contents of one of the coco-nuts poured over them. Most of it is used for cooking, chiefly for boiling taro. These people do not, as a rule, drink at meal-times, but will take a draught from one of the coco-nuts some little time after eating. Water will sometimes be carried to the taro gardens for consumption in the course of the day's work, but the liquid from a green coco-nut is more often drunk on such occasions, being usually obtainable in the locality. One could not want a more refreshing drink, since the shell and the thick outer sheath keep the liquid cool under the hottest sun. On the whole they seem to drink comparatively little, especially considering the heat of the sun and the starchiness of much of their food. If a person is thirsty while walking through the bush, and cannot obtain coco-nuts, he will search for a special kind of plant with a leaf similar to that of a banana, the native name of which is *oban*. It grows in clumps, a number of rather thin stems close together. Their colour is greenish streaked with brown. By making a vertical slit in one of these stems a spurt of watery liquid will be obtained, with which, by putting the mouth close to the cut, thirst can be most refreshingly assuaged. There is another taller

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

lime is made from coral, branch: coral being preferred. -

preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals.

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'.

Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out by the *tsunaun* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 288.)

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco.

STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

dropped some excrement on to the coco-nut shell, and it flared up; this was the first fire.

It will be noticed that neither of these versions account for the process of making fire by rubbing. But the second story, which I heard at Tiop, tells how a man and his wife, while drying their taro in the sun, saw two branches which were being rubbed together by the wind. They tried it for themselves, and first smoke came from the sticks and then flame. Then they brought wood and made a big fire and cooked their bananas on it. At first the other men were afraid, but presently they came and asked where the two had found this thing. They said they had found it in the bush. Then they showed all the people how to make fire and how to keep it alight.

WOMEN'S WORK

Pottery

There is only one place in Buka and North Bougainville where pottery is made.[1] This is the group of six small hamlets, three on the cliff and three on the shore below, which make up the village of Malasang, on the east coast of Buka towards its southern end, about six miles from the entrance to Buka Passage.

All the women of Malasang know how to make pots; they teach the craft to their daughters and to the wives of their sons. A novice starts by making small pots, increasing the size of her products as she grows more skilful. Only a few of the women can make the very largest pots. There seems to be no standard of skill except as regards size. I did not hear of any woman noted for making especially fine or well-shaped ones. They are made in large numbers, far in excess of domestic requirements, since there is a market for them over the whole of Buka and North Bougainville.

Materials.

There are two ingredients in the mixture from which the pots are made. The bulk of it consists of a greenish clay called *petako*. It is quite plentiful in the bush, and is uncovered by the pigs in their search for water. The other ingredient is called *mēmia*, and

[1] Pottery is also made on the east coast of Bougainville, near Kieta, where the technique is similar, but the shape slightly different, and at Buin on the extreme southern end of the island; the manufacture of the latter I have not seen (Pl. 61*a*, no. 4).

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

317 323 is described as being of a reddish colour and resembling sand. It comes from a big hole in the side of a mountain some little distance from the village. The women told me that if too little *mēmia* is mixed with the *petako* the pot is not strong, if too much, it is brittle. They could not explain the right proportions, but judge by the feel of the mixture as they knead it in their hands. The two ingredients are not kept separate till required, but large quantities of the mixture are prepared and kept in baskets of woven coco-nut leaves.

323 317 789 When a woman goes to get the *petako* for the first time, she must not go close to the place, or the *petako* will be spoiled. She stands some distance off, and the other women go first, and sprinkle the ground with pigs' fat. Then they bring back a handful of *petako* and give it to the newcomer, who may then approach and take her share. As far as I could learn, there is no ceremony connected with the getting of the *mēmia*.

Technique.

323 The potter works at her craft in the early morning and in the late afternoon. The sound of the tapping is heard almost at dawn. When she is not working, the half-finished pots rest on a low platform of thin logs placed slightly apart, between which the pots are set, the logs providing sufficient support to keep them upright. The platform runs down one side of the hut, and the small girls of the family are kept busy fetching and carrying pots for the worker who sits at the far end. There may be a couple of dozen on the platform at one time, with very little space between them. Setting them up is a ticklish business, but woe betide the child who lets one fall over, injuring its delicate edge. I watched one unlucky little girl to whom this happened trying, with more optimism than judgement, to repair the damage with her own unskilful fingers. The result was disastrous. All the operations, except the firing, are carried on indoors. If the work is done outside, the sun spoils the clay. As a very special favour, one potter brought her work outside so that I could take photographs.

323 516 The potter sits on the ground, but some women prefer a low stool, made by fixing a plank upon a couple of small logs. Her legs are stretched out in front of her, with the knees slightly bent, the pot resting on them.

323 In beginning a new pot, a lump of the mixture is taken in the hand, and worked into a ball about the size of a tennis ball. The

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

Red. Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itfu*, and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tʃina*) consists of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

White (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tʃina*, must be obtained by barter from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66*a*). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tʃina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton